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moral concern for the moral welfare of his readers," his master's position was by him nominally maintained, but really abandoned. The inevitableness of this and its profound significance for us all need no comment.

The nature of German Pietism and English Evangelicalism, the New England Theology, and the course of the Rationalistic movements in England, France, Germany, and America have been admirably set forth. The ordinary view of the Deistic movement is shown to be erroneous, and the increasing interest in ethics and in social service explained as a result of the new estimate of man characteristic of the modern world. The movements of thought which are here traced through several centuries are seen to lead naturally to the trying situation in which many have seemed to face the unwelcome alternative: "Either a mediæval man and a Christian or a modern man and a sceptic." "Mediævalism or irreligion, this was the alternative offered by consistent Evangelicals, and accepted by consistent rationalists." In closing, the author simply states, what it will be the task of later volumes in this series of "Studies in Theology" to show more fully, that the future belonged neither to the rationalism or pietism which were disputing the field when Kant began his labors, but that "new conceptions of religion have emerged and have resulted in forms of Christianity congenial to the temper and discoveries of the modern age, so that it has become possible for a man to be fully in sympathy with the modern spirit and yet remain a Christian."

St. Louis.

GEORGE R. DODSON.

MONTE AMIATA E IL SUO PROFETA (David Lazzaretti). By Giacomo Barzellotti. Milano: Fratelli Treves, 1910. Pp. xv, 359.

The author of this interesting and important work is already known to English readers through his "*La morale nella filosofia positiva*" (1871), of which a translation was brought out (1878) by C. P. Somerby, New York, as "*The Ethics of Positivism*," as well as through the pages of this JOURNAL. The volume in hand bears a title that is musical enough, but does not woo by any hint of weighty contents even the cultured layman to read it. Mount Amiata may be known to him commercially as a center of quick-silver industry, the mines there dating back to a remote antiquity. In geography he may have learned of

it as the apex of Tuscany, a huge volcanic cone cast up five thousand six hundred and eighty-nine feet, whose fires were long since quenched, an Alpine fragment solitary amid the Sub-Apennines; and perhaps he may have descried its form on some leisurely tour through the Sienese and Umbrian regions. The New Testament student may be reminded of the famous Codex Amiatinus, with its remarkable capitulation of the "Epistle to Romans," so clearly revealing that the fifteenth and sixteenth chapters are later additions wedged in between the fourteenth and the Doxology at the end. But neither such nor other less immediate suggestions would arouse interest in the volume.

The sub-title referring to 'its prophet (David Lazzaretti)' would most likely merely mystify. This 'David' has not yet found recognition among the minimal, let alone among the minor prophets. One seeks for him vainly in the lists of notables, in the Index of Names, in the Annual for his death-year (1878), in the vast encyclopedias, the deep Dead Seas of knowledge. The Britannica knows him not, nor the *Konversations-Lexikon* of Meyer, not to mention others less omniscient though hardly less omniloquent. Certainly Lazzaretti is unlike other prophets, being quite without honor outside of his own country. Nevertheless, his biography is well worth reading, and its subject-matter undoubtedly deserves the pains-taking psychologic-philosophic treatment it has received at the hands of the Italian savant.

Who then was this latter-day prophet, this David Lazzaretti "called the Saint," this "rapt one of the godlike forehead," whose noble features, yea, whose wooden shoon even, are figured in this volume? He was a Millenarian, a kind of nineteenth-century Savonarola, to whom he stands related about as Siena is related to Florence. Born in Arcidosso, November 6, 1834, he toiled in youth with his father amid the death-dealing swamps of the Tuscan coast (the Maremma), where on April 25, 1848, the Vision of a Brother appeared to him, saying, but forbidding him to repeat to a living soul, "Thy life is a mystery that one day shall be revealed to thee." Twenty years amid his native hills he led the uneventful life of a cartman, driving three mules always neat and well-kept, though on occasion the objects of his vigorous blasphemy. Not wholly uneducated, he loved his Dante and his Tasso, and would entertain his com-

panions with long and frequent quotations, especially from the *Divina Commedia*, which has left its deep imprint on his own numerous writings. Precisely a score of years after the first vision came the second (April 25, 1868), whence dates his 'conversion,' the birth of the new man. He now repaired to Rome, where with difficulty he obtained audience with Pio Nono. Advised to withdraw into a convent, to meditate upon his mission, he retired to one in the Sabina and there dwelt in a cavern named after the 'Blessed Amadeo,' where, of course, through both eye and ear now opened, he received supernatural communications in number. At length returning to his mountain home, he found the fame of his visions had outrun him and had prepared his simple-hearted compatriots to receive him as the 'man of mystery' and even above his own self-valuation. Taking deeply to heart the distraught condition of Church and State, he set before himself ever more determinedly the formidable task of reforming both, and that in a high and holy sense, in fact, of inaugurating the Era of the Spirit; of the third Person in the Trinity, the reign of Right as a further and final development from the reign of Grace. (It seems a far cry from Lazzaretti to Hartmann, yet the notions of the Saint and the philosopher at this point present a strange rapprochement.) Once he withdrew for prolonged fasting (out-doing Tanner) and meditation and communion with heaven to the rock-mass of Monte Cristo, rising abruptly from the Tyrrhene Sea, about thirty miles south of Elba. Repeatedly for much longer periods he dwelt in France, under patronage of Du Vichat, and there brought forth some of his most important productions. Able ecclesiastics gave him sympathy and encouragement, edited, revised, and even interpolated his visionary writings, and seemed at first not unwilling to use him as an instrument to foment a reactionary movement, presumably in the interest of the Legitimists. But gradually his aims and claims burst all bounds of Catholic tolerance, he came finally into conflict with the Church, whose Sacred Congregation placed all his writings on the Index. But his fellow-mountaineers he overmastered completely by the force of his personality, inspired with his own ideals of life and society, organized into a miniature kingdom of the skies, with an elaborate hierarchy and officialdom, and he was himself unhesitatingly accepted as a Second Messiah, as Son of God, as 'Christ the Leader and

Judge.' For ten years and almost to the very last he seems to have had no warlike or other evil intent, but hoped merely to effect a peaceful revolution in the minds and hearts of all men, especially his Italian countrymen. Finally, however, perhaps impatient of the long result of time and spurred on by his more zealous followers, on August 14, 1878, he assembled round his Church and Tower and Hermitage (upreared with endless toil by the loving hands of the Lazzarettists) on Monte Labbro (3,894 ft. high, a satellite of Amiata) an excited throng of three thousand 'God-intoxicated' believers, whom he held there four days in a state of religious exaltation that bordered on frenzy, but pliant to his slightest word or beck or look, till the morning of the 18th, when in expectation of heaven-sent miracles they all began the long-promised 'Descent,' men, women and children, preceded by David and some three hundred officials variously and most picturesquely garmented. Half way down, on the main street of Arcidosso, they were met by two civil authorities (the Delegate of Public Safety and the Syndic) with eight carbineers, and as rioters were commanded to retire and disperse. A colloquy ensued between Lazzaretti and the Delegate, De Lucca. The former was not disposed to violence, but was prepared rather to die than to retire, doubtless clearly seeing that any backward step in such a presence would end his 'Mission' and bury him beneath universal contempt. At a gesture from him, his followers raised the cry of 'Viva la repubblica,' and a shower of stones fell upon the Delegate. Some one called out 'Fire!'; instantly came the sharp report of carbine, then another and another, followed by a volley wrapping all in smoke. Lazzaretti fell, mortally wounded, his head pierced by three bullets. Immense confusion arose, in which the soldiers fired upon the defenceless peasants cruelly and needlessly. Severe blame for the whole tragedy rests upon the Government, at that time in the nerveless hands of Cairoli, whose Minister of the Interior, Zanardelli, practised *laissez faire* to a degree, openly declaring it his policy "to repress but not to prevent."

Lazzarettism, however, did not die with its founder. *No disciple's faith was shaken.* Scarcely diminished in numbers, they still keep up the cult, they patiently await the return of the 'Saint,' legends begin to flutter round his name, which more and more attracts the attention of thinkers, and an increasing

throng of visitors make pilgrimages of curiosity or sympathy to the theatre of his action.

Such in barest outline are the facts forming the subject-matter of our author's careful study. The question is, What is the scientific value, the philosophic interest of the whole incident? The author himself asks plainly, 'Is it worth while?' and answers decidedly, 'Yes!' No one indeed can fail to perceive a marked resemblance to the Gospel account understood as history, so marked at points as to suggest imitation, and it is this resemblance that Barzellotti has always in mind and that has prompted him to such a minute investigation. He is not indeed the first nor yet the last to perceive and to stress this obvious aspect of the whole matter. The finest French intellect of the past generation, Ernest Renan, writing with enthusiasm of Barzellotti's earlier *précieux volume*, "David Lazzaretti di Arcidosso"¹ (1885), declared it "a model of the manner in which such investigations should be pursued. It is a document infinitely precious for the critical history of religions. In particular, upon the Galilean movement of the first century of our era and the Umbrian movement of Francis of Assisi it throws a very vivid illumination, etc." Even more emphatic is the Danish savant, Dr. Emil Rassmussen (author of "Jesus: a Study in Comparative Psychology"), who spent many months in Arcidosso, in minute and exhaustive examination of all the pertinent literary and historical facts of the case, and in 1904 published in Copenhagen a critical treatment of the whole in a volume of two hundred and thirty-three pages, entitled, "En Kristus fra vore Dage: italiensk Kulturbillede," of which there has appeared a second edition. The Dane, who espouses in general the psychopathic theory of the rise of religions, is an open and ardent admirer of Lazzaretti, whom he regards as the parallel and counterpart of Christ, as not clinically an epileptic, but subject to a chronic "condition of epileptic oppression, combined with frequently systematic religious delirium. . . . We must recognize that the greatness of the mind depends often on its malady." At the same time Rassmussen dissents emphatically from the alienists, such as Lombroso, Morelli, and others less known, whose pages overflow with discussions of

¹ Summarized with eloquence, but without suspicion of the significance of the whole, in the *Athenæum*, 1885, I, 628ff. See also *Spectator*, 58, 1235.

David as the perfect type of half a dozen nobly-named varieties of mania. The more careful Dane pays full tribute to the moral character of the 'Saint' as pure, altruistic, disinterested, full of good faith, of patriotism, of family affection, and singularly free from the affective abnormalities that commonly characterize the 'religious genius.' In general, it must be admitted that the moral and social aspects of Lazzarettism have stood successfully the severest scrutiny of the most unfriendly critics.

As to the scientific value of Barzellotti's and similar works, and the importance of the spirit and method of investigation which they exemplify, we shall not raise any question. But at one point of vital significance we must register a wide dissent and the most emphatic protest. Even though one accept with very slight reserve the analysis of the general religious consciousness and of many of its most notable active manifestations in the genesis of cults and sects and orders, even granting that the pre-Christian and proto-Christian religious consciousness must be measured in some dimensions with the one universal standard, it still remains true that the parallel, whether express or implied between the *Saint* and the Jesus, is wholly imaginary and misleading, and that any and every attempt to interpret the Origin of Christianity in terms of Lazzaretti or St. Francis or any and all human personalities must fail henceforth as hitherto, flatly, hopelessly, and ignominiously. For all such interpretations begin and end with a strange neglect of the central and pivotal fact of proto-Christianity, namely, that it was a monotheism, begotten, born, and reared in an intensely monotheistic consciousness, directed squarely and firmly against the prevailing polytheism, which was the one supreme religious fact of the day and of necessity formed the point of attack for any religious movement emerging from Greco-Jewish circles. It is this one overshadowing fact that separates the Christian and the Lazzaretti movements as far apart as the poles, that thrusts them asunder by the whole diameter of being. In the presence of this broad and decisive diversity, the multiplied similarities in detail that appear in connection with the current superficial and systematically false interpretation of the Gospels, must all sink into insignificance, while the deeper and correcter interpretation shows them to be but shadows, void of any substance whatever. Let one illustration suffice. The strength of Lazzarettism lay in the personality of David. In

what his charm consisted it is superfluous to inquire. Suffice it that few of his fellows could resist the spell, still less could any one break it once cast upon him. So far forth he was indeed the exact counterpart of the 'Jesusbild,' as it flourishes in the fancy of liberal critics. But now mark the difference. Naturally and necessarily, since it was the personal fascination exerted by David that won him disciples, these latter were found from first to last in the circle of his immediate acquaintance. Says our author (p. 339): "Not everywhere on Mount Amiata, but in Arcidosso and in the neighboring hamlets, in those nearest to Mount Labbro in the fields that face the Maremma, where the prophet found from the start the majority of his followers, there remain still faithful nearly all the survivors of the societies founded by him, his apostles and some of the younger disciples, of those called later to the faith." Beyond this charmed circle of his own personality the faith of the Lazzaretti has never extended, and we may safely say can never extend itself perceptibly. Not only is this precisely as it should be, it seems precisely as it must be. Now had the Christian propaganda resembled Lazzaretti's in its origin, had it welled out from a single pure-human source, as the critics maintain, then surely something similar would have happened. The region of the personal influence of Jesus, the fertile and populous shores of Galilee, would have formed the radiant focus of his Gospel mission, thence it would have spread itself in widening waves, and always at the front we should have found the historic names of the immediate primitive disciples. However, in the case actually presented all this is exactly reversed. Galilee is practically unknown in the early preaching. The primitive churches or groups of disciples spring up in remote regions, in Damascus, in Antioch, in Crete, in Libya; we find Epistles to Corinthians, to Galatians, to Romans, to the Dispersion, and to many others, but none to the saints in Capernaum, or in Chorazin, or in Bethsaida, or in Nazareth, or even in Jerusalem. Neither are the historical primitive propagandists the friends, fellow-citizens, and personal disciples of the Jesus. Saul of Tarsus, Ananias of Damascus, Apollos of Alexandria, Prisca and Aquila of Rome, Barnabas of Cyprus, Stephen the protomartyr, Philip the deacon, and various other missionaries,—none was ever acquainted with a human Jesus. The twelve Apostles stand forth but as shadows of mighty names. The earliest traditions

find nothing for them to do, can tell nothing of their activity. This is notoriously true of eleven, and is, in fact, also true of the one apparent exception, Simon Peter. Thus the supposed similarity between the two origins of the two movements turns out to be a dissimilarity and contrast so complete as of itself to show the impossibility of explaining the two similarly. Since Lazzarettism was admittedly an emanation from a pure-human focus, we have no choice but to admit that primitive Christianity was not such an emanation in any such sense. So far then from corroborating and verisimilating the modern critical theory of Christian Origins, the example of David must shatter and disprove it utterly. Barzellotti and his peers have indeed rendered a great service to science by their intense study of this recent religious phenomenon, but in a sense exactly the reverse of the intended. They had builded better than they knew.

Coming now to our author's mode of treatment, we are vividly reminded of Taine (whom Barzellotti cites and has translated, and has even critically appreciated in a volume "Ippolito Taine," 1895) and his three moments, and in less degree of Reich and his geo-political factors. The suggestion lies near that these determinants have been rather overworked, and that they do not contribute so very much to our understanding of any exceptional individuality. At most, they might help us to understand some type, some organic complex of modes, but surely not the *deviation* from the type or mode. Now it is precisely this deviation that constitutes the individuality, the distinctive personality of such a one as David, and after all of Barzellotti's profound and interesting prolegomena on the art, history, topography, and climate of his hero's 'ambiente,' one finds oneself not far advanced towards understanding the hero himself.

Such a 'religious genius' may after all appear almost anywhere, in any *milieu*,—in New England or in Chicago, as well as in 'Unknown Tuscany.' But the reader of these nearly two hundred preliminary pages is well repaid by the beauty of the author's style and the picturesque finish of his descriptions. Some of these, for example, the pathetic sketch of the Lazzarettist family at supper, would seem to invite urgently the pencil of the painter.

It seems noteworthy that Barzellotti, in quoting the close of the Hymn composed by David and sung by the women on the

'Descent' from Labbro, fails to remark that it is a virtual translation of the last stanzas of Jacopone da Todi's "Stabat Mater."

On the whole, our author has produced a highly entertaining, instructive, and illuminative volume, which deserves far wider attention than it is likely to receive beyond the borders of Italy.

WILLIAM BENJAMIN SMITH.

Tilton Memorial Library, New Orleans.

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